

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

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NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 CAB-09 COME-00 DOTE-00 EB-11 FAA-00 OMB-01

SAJ-01 DRC-01 SAM-01 IO-14 /127 W

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P R 240915Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1497

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 5432

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR JA CH TW

SUBJ: GOJ /LDP HANDLING OF JAPAN-PRC CIVAIR PACT

REF: TOKYO 5299

SUMMARY: GOJ/LDP DETERMINED TO SECURE PARTY APPROVAL TO SUBMIT JAPAN-PRC CIVAIR AGREEMENT TO DIET WITHIN NEXT DAY OR TWO, DESPITE LAST-DITCH WRANGLING BY OPPONENTS. PARTY COMMITTEES INVOLVED BEGAN JOINT MEETING TO REACH CONSENSUS APR 23, AND ARE SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE APR 24. MEANTIME, SOME (BUT NOT ALL) SEIRANKAI VICE MINISTERS OFFERED RESIGNATIONS IN HOPE OF BLOCKING AGREEMENT, ONLY TO REVEAL OWN INTERNAL DISARRAY. END SUMMARY.

1. IN REGULAR TUESDAY MORNING CABINET MEETING APR 23, GOJ DECIDED TO CONVENE SPECIAL SESSION QTE WITHIN DAY OR TWO UNQTE TO FORMALLY APPROVE SUBMISSION OF JAPAN-PRC CIVAIR AGREEMENT TO DIET FOR RATIFICATION, PENDING COMPLETION OF PROCEDURES TO
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SECURE LDP APPROVAL TO DO SO.

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS, PRIMIN TANAKA ASSURED CABINET THAT GOJ IS MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO ACHIEVE EARLIEST RESTORATION OF JAPAN-TAIWAN AIR ROUTE. PRIMIN DIRECTED THAT THREE SPECIFIC ACTIONS BE UNDERTAKEN TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE: (1) FONMIN OHIRA INFORM TAIWAN AIR AUTHORITIES THAT JAPAN WOULD NOT RPT NOT STRICTLY ENFORCE ITS EARLIER DECISION TO EXCLUDE TAIWAN AIRCRAFT FROM JAPAN'S FIR AND ADIZ; (2) TRANSPORT MINISTER TOKUNAGA EXPEDITE EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH PRIVATE COMPANY WHICH COULD REPLACE JAL SHOULD GROC PERMIT RESTORATION OF JAPAN-TAIWAN AIR ROUTE; AND (3) MAXIMUM EFFORT BE MADE THROUGH ALL POSSIBLE CHANNELS TO WORK FOR REOPENING OF JAPAN-TAIWAN AIR ROUTE. GOJ AGREED THAT POLITICAL OR BUSINESS LEADER SHOULD BE SENT TO TAIWAN TO TRY TO WORK OUT EARLY RESUMPTION OF FLIGHTS.

3. IN SAME CABINET MEETING, FONMIN OHIRA TOOK CHARACTERISTIC WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE, CAUTIONING THAT CONSIDERABLE TIME MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO RESTORE JAPAN-TAIWAN ROUTE. HOWEVER, HE ALSO SOUNDED POSITIVE TONE BY NOTING THAT GROC HAS INDICATED UNOFFICIALLY THAT JAPANESE AIRCRAFT WOULD BE PERMITTED TO LAND IN TAIWAN IN EMERGENCIES,

AND THAT TAIWAN IS PERMITTING JAPAN'S NANSEI AIRLINE TO CONTINUE REGULAR SERVICE TO TONAGUNI ISLAND IN RYUKU CHAIN, WHICH LIES INSIDE TAIWAN FIR.

4. AFTERNOON APR 23, LDP PROMPTLY BEGAN PROCESS OF SECURING PARTY APPROVAL TO SUBMIT PACT TO DIET BY CONVENING JOINT MEETING OF LDP POLICY RESEARCH BOARD, FOREIGN POLICY STUDY COMMITTEE, FOREIGN POLICY AND TRANSPORT SUB-COMMITTEES AND SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON CIVAIR COUNTERMEASURES. PACT OPPONENTS CRITICIZED PRIMIN TANAKA AND FONMIN OHIRA FOR FAILURE TO ADHERE TO EXPLICIT PARTY DECISION TO MAINTAIN TAIWAN ROUTE AS CONDITION FOR AGREEMENT WITH PRC, AND RENEWED DEMAND FOR GOJ EFFORTS FOR EARLIEST RESTORATION OF TAIWAN ROUTE. JOINT MEETING RECESSED EARLY EVENING, ON INCONCLUSIVE NOTE, AND RECONVENED FOLLOWING MORNING.

5. SEIRANKAI MEMBERS CONTINUE TO ATTACK AGREEMENT AND OHIRA, BUT ALSO ARE SHOWING SOME DISARRAY. FOLLOWING MEETING OF GROUP AFTERNOON APR 23, BOTH EIICHI NAKAO AND ICHIRO NAKAGAWA ANNOUNCED THAT FOUR OR FIVE SIRANKAI PARLIAMENTARY VICE MINISTERS

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HAD DECIDED TO TENDER RESIGNATIONS TO THEIR MINISTERS TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR HAVING FAILED TO ADVISE THEM ADEQUATELY ON CIVAIR MATTER. FOUR VICE MINISTERS NAMED WERE NAKAGAWA (FINANCE), MICHIO WATANABE (AGRICULTURE), AND MOTOHARU MORISHITA AND MASATOSHI KUSUNOKI (BOTH MITI). MORISHITA AND KUSUNOKI, HOWEVER, LATER DENIED THAT THEY WERE RESIGNING. IN ANY CASE, NONE OF MINISTERS HAVE ACCEPTED RESIGNATIONS.

6. PRO-TAIWAN LDP DIET MEMBERS, LED BY HIROKICHI NADAO AND INCLUDING FORMER PRIMIN KISHI AND FORMER LOWER HOUSE SPEAKER NAKA FUNADA, REMAIN OPPOSED TO RATIFICATION, AND CONTINUE TO DEMAND GOJ EFFORTS TO RESTORE TAIWAN AIR LINK. IT WAS EXPLAINED THAT ONLY 70 DIET MEMBERS HAD SIGNED THIS GROUP'S PETITION BY EVENING APR 23 BECAUSE MANY ARE CAMPAIGNING OUTSIDE TOKYO AREA.

7. FINMIN FUKUDA HAS MAINTAINED NEUTRAL POSTURE ON AGREEMENT, LIMITING SELF IN STATEMENT TO PRESS AFTER APR 21 CABINET MEETING TO EXPRESSION OF DOUBT ABOUT SUBMITTING PACT TO DIET FOR RATIFICATION AS SOON AS DESIRED BY OTHER MINISTERS. FUKUDA DEPARTED APR 24 TO ATTEND KUALA LUMPUR ADB MEETING, APR 25-26.

8. COMMENT: LITTLE DOUBT REMAINS THAT PRIMIN TANAKA WILL SECURE EARLY LDP APPROVAL FOR SUBMISSION OF CIVAIR PACT TO DIET, WHICH TANTAMOUNT TO RATIFICATION GIVEN FAVORABLE POSITIONS TAKEN BY OPPOSITION PARTIES. FROM EMBOFF CONVERSATIONS WITH LDP DIETMEN (FUKUDA FACTION) HARDLINE OPPONENTS OF CIVAIR PACT SEEM TO HAVE SHIFTED TO TACTICS DESIGNED TO ENSURE PUBLIC OPPORTUNITY TO PLACE OBJECTIONS ON RECORD DURING DIET PROCEEDINGS, INCLUDING POSSIBLE VOTE AGAINST RATIFICATION. IT HIGHLY DOUBTFUL, HOWEVER, THAT GOJ/LDP WOULD PERMIT THEM TO MAKE SUCH OPEN DISPLAY OF DISUNITY. MOREOVER, MANY LDP OPPONENTS OF AIR AGREEMENT SEEM TO BE INHIBITED BY CONCERN THAT SUCH ALL-OUT OPPOSITION MIGHT SPLIT PARTY. THIS POINT UNDER ACTIVE DEBATE WITHIN SEIRANKAI, WITH COOLER-HEADED MEMBERS TAKING LINE THAT GROUP COULD HARDLY REFORM LDP FROM OUTSIDE, WHETHER THEY SPLIT BY CHOICE OR ARE EXPELLED FOR ANTI-PARTY ACTION. GOJ/LDP LEADERSHIP APPEARS TO BE MOVING AHEAD INEXORABLY TOWARD EARLY RATIFICATION, BUT LDP OLD-TIMERS HAVE TOLD EMBOFFS THAT PARTY OPINION HAS NOT BEEN SO BADLY DIVIDED ON POLICY ISSUE SINCE THEN PRIMIN
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HATOYAMA DECIDED TO RESUME FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH USSR IN 1956.
END COMMENT. SHOESMITH

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